/87 cont./

846 [789] [114] that one is dealing primarily with an extension for the father of precautionary measures necessary for the safety of the newborn baby, is admissible. Through a kind of "participation," the father represents the child, and, to some extent, the mother as well. The danger threatening him is of the same nature as that hanging over the mother. There is probably no need to interpret his practices as having any meaning or function fundamentally different from the measures taken by his spouse. Concerning the 846 851 presumable "recognition of paternity, which has been pointed out as the social function of the masculine post-parturition -- with reason, perhaps, for other primitive groups --, we do not find it among the Guaraní, since the non-observance would not affect in any way the status of the father with reference to the baby, but simply its magical security and the health of the child. Therefore, the masculine post-parturition, instead of leading to social paternity, is, on the contrary, the result of it. And much less can it be said that the resguardo of the father has the function of conferring upon the man and husband paternal dignity within the group constellation; in this case there would be no reason to repeat the observances every time a child is born, but it would be enough to submit to them on the occasion of the birth of the first-born. There is apparently nothing among the Guaraní that would permit speaking of specific social functions inherent in the couvade.

846 842 /88/ Contrary to what people have tried to show with reference to other tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, for the Guaraní there is no indication of any direct relation between the masculine post-parturition and the ideas concerning conception that exist in the [827] tribal culture. Although it is acknowledged that male children come from the father and female children from the mother, I have not obtained the slightest reference to differences in the paternal or maternal behavior in the one case or the other. One 846 Mbüá informant from Rio Branco, for example, insisted on the 753 necessity for the father to take precautions /se resguardar/ after the birth of a girl as well, "for otherwise the child will get sick."

846 178 [826] The fear of ridicule and criticism makes it difficult to obtain sufficiently reliable information about the couvade. At

/89 cont./ --Another commandment refers to wakefulness: father and mother should sleep as little as possible. For the Mbüá there is, furthermore, the necessity of sexual abstinence during the couvade, probably also for the Kayová and Ñandéva; it is true that Marçal de Souza told me he did not know of any special precautions in this respect.

In their conjunction, the precautionary measures appear indispensable for the child's well-being, including the diet of father and mother. It is not the father who gets sick in case he does not respect the dietary restrictions, but the newborn child; and the mother's diet affects her and the child to whom she gives suck. The prohibition against disturbing steel likewise is for the child's benefit. The Ñandéva from Araribá told me: "The father should not disturb steel, because otherwise the child's navel will not remain dry; the navel is ruined, because the steel is very strong." And as long as the navel is not healed, the mother, in turn, should avoid working with scissors, needle, and any other iron implements. (Among the Mbüá the woman is allowed to sew during the period of resguardo.)

The threat that hangs over the parents is that of the odjépotá; that is why they should stay at home and not sleep much. The ones who "give the odjépotá "are the Arco da Velha /rainbow/ and "other beasts," such as toads, snakes, and so on, animals in which psychoanalysts would certainly tend to discover some sexual symbolism. Odjépotá is the sad lot awaiting every man who, not respecting the prescription to stay at home when his wife was in childbed, could not resist the temptation to go out hunting. The first animal that he meets seems to him to be human, attracts him, and he becomes odjépotá; in the words of an informant from Bananal, "the beast gets mixed up with the man and the man remains living with the beast for the rest of his life."

Concerning the danger of the odjépotá of the father, among the Ñandéva there is a myth about a man who, disrespecting the observances, goes off to the forest, where he meets a tadjatsú (queixada /white-lipped peccary/) in the form of a beautiful woman, whom he accompanies and who takes him into the midst of the queixadas. He remains living amidst the queixadas, taking

/92/

881 In front of the hammock or the board bed, the father or
354 brother lights a little fire for light and warmth, or else a small
237 candle of iraity (wax of wild bees), since in the dark there would be danger of odjépotá. An old Ñandéva woman told me that when she "passed from one age to another" the resguardo was so rigorous that she was not even allowed to blow up the fire that was lighted in her cubicle at night; it fell to the brother to take care of it.

881 When she goes out to satisfy a need, the girl should have
184 her head and body wrapped in a cloth; she does not go very far from the house and, at least among the Ñandéva, is accompanied by her mother. Among the Mbüá she goes out alone, but looking only at the ground and walking quickly.

881 The essential part is that the menstruating girl nourish her-
262 self only on "chosen food" and in small quantity, besides being
263 insipid or prepared with little salt. Aside from the principal food, small fish or birds ("light meat"), she is given sweet potatoes, beiju (mbeidjú) /a paste made with manioc flour/, chicha, etc; the father, brother, or some cousin takes it upon himself to get the birds or catch the fish for the "patient."

It is necessary above all to avoid the meat of game: deer, anta, paca, queixada /white-lipped peccary/, catêto /collared
184 peccary/. Tatu, so they tell me, is allowed among the Ñandéva and prohibited among the Mbüá. Even the meat of some birds is prohibited: baitaca, among the Mbüá; baitaca, juriti, inhambu, and jacu among the Ñandéva. The latter enumerate further among the restrictions: beans (except pole beans), coffee, pork
881 and beef, as well as fats. The non-observance is bound up with
262 negative consequences for the health. Thus, the Mbüá say that
753 the peccary would give tapeworms, while parrot and tatu would give "crazy head." The Ñandéva, in turn, insist on the danger of epilepsy ("attack," ẽ-ó-á) for the girl (and for her future children, according to Poýdjú of Araribá) who does not abstain from game, and they believe that baitaca and juriti would cause heavy bleeding during menstruation. The meat of deer in particular is responsible for the "attacks," in the opinion of both the Ñandéva and the Kayová. The use of inhambu meat, the Ñandéva say,

/92 cont./

881 262 753 would cause the girl to have weak eyesight. The oldest Ñandéva woman of Bananal told me that she owed the possession of still good teeth to the fact of having finished the resguardo without salt. At Araribá, too, they told me that the menstruating girl should [263] avoid salt, in order not to lose her teeth early. The Mbüá believe that the girl would become very thin if she ate salted foods.

881 82 In the opinion of the Ñandéva and Kayová the greatest danger that hangs over the menstruating girl is that of the odjépotá. "The one who gives the odjépotá /93/ to the girl," an Indian from Araribá told me, is the karuguá or Arco da Velha /rainbow/, which to her "appears as a person in order to make her lose her senses; then she becomes pale, pale, until she dies." Another informant at Dourados told me that the girl should not look at any boy, in order not to be the victim of enchantment, nor at the countryside, for she would be enchanted by the animals, who would become stirred up because of her. Among the Ñandéva of Pôrto Lindo I heard the explanation that the seclusion itself is done in order to prevent the odjépotá on the part of the animals, particularly the jaguar, deer, and anta.

[ML] The Mbüá do not allow the girl to walk in the forest, in order not to be the victim of snakes or the yvyrádjá (spirit of the trees"), they do not let her cross a river, so as not to be caught by the ýdjá ("spirit of the waters), or touch some stone, because of [184] the itádjá (spirit of the stone"). I have the impression that the animism expressed in these beliefs is a peculiarity of the Mbüá, for I have not encountered it in any of the other subgroups of the [171] tribe. It seems to approximate, however, the beliefs recorded among the Tenetehára of northern Brazil (2).

2. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Wagley and Galvão, 1949, passim.

881 882 178 During the intermediate weeks between the first and second menses, the girl stays at home or in the immediate vicinity, but without the rigor of the observances that gave strength during the days of the crisis. The Ñandéva say that in olden times the girl "let herself be kept in" the whole month, until the end of the second menstruation, but nowadays it is no longer so, "because of the national girls."

/116 cont./

/footnote 9 cont./

774 828 three souls in every human being, has heretical ideas regarding the atsýyguá. For him all are bearers of ayvú, but not all are bearers of atsýyguá; and he does not admit the Portuguese word "alma" /soul/ to designate it. "Only bad people have it, it is their badness." If someone arrogantly comes to quarrel with me, and if after a while I get sick, it is said "Aé yatsýyguama," it was he who did harm. By means of a "little blessing" /Port. "benzinho"/ the fiandeirú can get rid of the atsýyguá. -- This interpretation, in which the Catholic will immediately perceive an analogy to the absolution from sins, is not endorsed by the Ñandéva most versed in the orthodox doctrine, insofar as it is possible to use this expression. Marçal, for example, told me: "The fiandeirú cannot take away the atsýyguá, because then the person would die." And he told of the case of a child that cried all the time and did not want to suck. The fiandeirú prescribed to the mother that she should hang around the child's neck the beak of a parrot (parakáu); this beak blocked the view of the mother's atsýyguá, which was a snake coiled up in her breast. -- What can be taken away are the prayers sent by the atsýyguá, when already transformed into the anguéry. The soul, which after death remains wandering over the ground (anguéry, shade /Port. assombração/)," the fiandeirú Sebastião explained to me, "sometimes also gives a prayer, but it is not good; the person should not take the prayer otherwise he remains changed and talks nonsense." João Américo of Itariri, when he was living at Araribá, "caught" one of these prayers, became half crazy, and fell ill. Sebastião,

[753] [755] 184 774 828 755 [775]

795 /116 cont./
oó dyvý yvýkuárendápý. It only goes about in those places where the body went when alive. During the day the anguêry "does not go about."

/117/ Poýdjú told me there are two kinds of anguêry, some like a phantom in human form, others like a hairless dog (10),

10. /From p. 151 of the original source./ By the way, the animals also have anguêry, as is seen from a myth entitled mbore-odjépotá, which I had an opportunity to collect at Araribá.

[825] [126]

weeping and crying like a child, and both of which are the "shade" /Port. "assombração"/ of someone who has died. Sometimes one hears the anguêry speak with a human voice, sometimes one hears it weeping, but no one is seen. According [184] to Poýdjú, the anguêry goes about at night and at midday, an opinion that I have also found among the Ñandéva of the coast.

A constant preoccupation of every Guaraní, no matter what subgroup he belongs to, is the fear of coming in contact with some anguêry. When a family has to walk in the forest at night, the children walk in front. "I am afraid," said old Ermelina, "there are anguêry"; that is also why she does not [753] let the children go "that way." Every anguêry does harm; it [761] brings sickness and sometimes, as we have seen, death. It can [755] be made to withdraw to another place by means of prayers; Ñanderykeý is asked to make it go away; this, among the Ñandéva. Therefore, a religious recourse and not magical.

The anguêry, desperately roaming about the forest, feared by all, reminds one of "shades" and "troubled souls" at the same time. But it is not a "condemned" soul in the proper sense of the word, but simply an extremely unhappy one. Aside from ex- 795 828 177 ceptional cases, it would be difficult for the Ñandéva to arrive at the idea of considering the "wicked spirit" (as we would perhaps say) responsible for his fate. All the more significant are

/126 cont./

78 182 doctrines themselves. As internal dissensions increase, these same concepts, as is clarified in another part of this work, serve to make the group itself responsible for the impossibility of achieving cultural ideals which, nonetheless, everybody continues to aspire to. Concrete expressions of this impossibility are, in the first place, the reduction and final disappearance of the feasts with collective prayers and dances, and, secondly, the progressive abandonment of the individual prayer as a manifestation of religiousness. Without any exaggeration it can be [181] said that the Guaraní ceases to be Guaraní when he ceases to feel the necessity to apply himself to his religious devotions, that is, to the porahêi.

/127/ When the social disorganization of the villages reaches the point of making the feasts with collective prayers and dances no longer performable, the family heads still continue to perform the domestic cult, the last one to die out. At Bananal [184] I found few houses in which anyone still prayed; at Dourados I never heard a Ñandéva sing his porahêi. This is a state which none of the Kayová or Mbüá villages visited by me had reached.

4. Ideas about sicknesses and death

• 753 [773] It might be said in the last analysis that the dangers, the great misfortunes that preoccupy and torment the spirit of the Guaraní, are reduced to two: the many sicknesses that afflict him and, even more, the mythical idea of the end of the world ever closer and closer.

Let us linger a little over the notion of the illnesses which in fact prevail frighteningly among the poor Guaraní and which -- it is not difficult to verify -- will see to it that the day on which the end of the world will be reached for this tribe actually is not far off.

/127 cont./

753 754 171 Among the South American Indians the most common opinion about the origin of sickness is the one that bad individuals, particularly sorcerers from a foreign tribe or even from among their own people, abuse their faculties and extraordinary powers in order to make an object or substance responsible for the illness, the quid malignum, enter the body of another. This 753 754 theory is also accepted by the Guaraní, among whom, however, it is not exclusive, but exists side by side with other etiologies proceeding directly from the religious doctrines.

In any case, among the Guaraní too the belief that sicknesses, at least the majority of them, are explained by the bad intentions of knowledgeable persons and bearers of magic resources predominates. Thus the appearance of an epidemic or 753 571 even of a series of cases of sickness in the same village and in a short space of time can cause important social consequences, 578 generate distrust, misunderstanding, or even open enmities and fights within the local group, putting into action disruptive forces of social life existing in a latent state. It is even possible to state that the mystical sense of solidarity, which, although it does not unite the whole tribe and not always the individuals of a certain horde, makes the populations of the different villages cohesive, rarely suffers dissolution of continuity, except for the atmosphere of insecurity and discontent that dominates all in situations of this nature. /128/ This is a supposition made, of [182] course, concerning villages that do not already find themselves [179] in a state of open social disorganization through continuous contact with civilization. After the epidemic is past, there is no delay in re-establishing the normal equilibrium, and the authority of the doctor-sorcerer, who has used the magic and religious resources, or that of the capitão, who has made use of his police authority in order to normalize the situation by fighting the opposing forces, then is subject to considerable increment.

754 157 One of the disruptive forces most characteristic of Guaraní society is the constant suspicion of practices of black magic within the group. There is not much exaggeration in the statement that

/130 cont./

753 121 [182] [179] It is well known that the phenomenon of cultural disintegration, as the product of interethnic contacts, is manifested, among other things, by the parallel acceptance of two or more solutions for the same problem, of various concommitant elements with the same function, it falling on the individual from case to case to decide in favor of this one or that one. It is in relation to sicknesses and to their treatment that such a state of affairs is revealed with special clarity in Guaraní life. This perhaps primarily because of the focalization, more and more accentuated, that the sickness, real or imaginary, comes to have in the Guaraní mind, undoubtedly in consequence of a psychic flight before an unsatisfactory reality, the fruit of a state of constant frustration. And as the traditional patterns of the culture do not offer elements considered sufficient for facing the problem thus created, there is also recourse to others of foreign derivation. The ideas about the ontology and etiology of the sicknesses, as well as about the methods of cure, thus cease to constitute an integrated whole, but form a conjunction of disparate elements, so to speak. The culture seems to lose one of its primordial functions up to a certain point, that of providing the group and the particular individuals with the resources for sure and satisfactory control over phenomena that go beyond the simple biological reaction. Ideas, beliefs, and explanations of diverse origins, and arising in cultural contexts of different types, strike against one another in the minds of these poor people, producing a mental state /131/ of insecurity and sometimes almost of despair. Capitão Bento, former chief of the village of Bananal, suffered from malaria (without, of course, identifying the illness) and thought the ailment was due to physiological disturbances caused in a "natural" manner by some quid malignum, which in some form or other had penetrated his body. His mother settled on the hypothesis of black magic practiced by some personal enemy with the help of a picture that had fallen into his hands. For his part, Samuel, brother of the sick man, was more inclined to believe in the

753 159 121 [154] [177]

121 /131 cont./
753 possibility of "some spirit invoked into him," an idea perhaps
159 of Amerindian origin, but possibly reinforced by contact with the
[179] spiritism of the civilized inhabitants of the coast. As it could
[155] not fail to be, the same insecurity is observed in the choice of the methods of cure, magico-medicinal as well as religious, and of the specialists, who are either doctor-sorcerers of the same tribe, or civilized "curers," or even doctors possessing an official diploma.

175 The quid malignum cause of the sickness may be any foreign body or poisonous substance or of another form harmful to health, such as pebbles, seeds, ugly worms, or even fire. If in fact it has entered the body as a consequence of black magic, the doctor-sorcerer does not get to do anything about it until he discovers the one responsible, so as to attack him with counter-
[184] sorcery. This among the Kayová at least. If, however, the quid malignum entered the body in a natural way, i.e., without there being any unconfessable purposes on the part of ill-intentioned individuals, whether it be by carelessness, by the unfortunate conjunction of adverse circumstances, or by the manifestation of certain deities whose appearance is linked with certain times of the year, the removal can be made either by the technique of the doctor-sorcerer, by the use of appropriate medicines, by means of practices performed by the patient himself, or, finally, with the help of religious ceremonies.

761 The attitude of the present-day Guaraní, particularly
753 that of the Ñandéva of the coastal villages, toward sicknesses and death is characterized by a peculiar combination of fatalism and -- though we say it with due reserve -- Christian resignation. Capitão Bento's daughter was ill; her father took her to
761 Dr. Militão, a physician of São Vicente or Santos, who pre-
753 scribed a series of remedies for her. But in the end the child
159 died. "It is because she had to die," was Bento's simple explanation. And Bento's mother added: "When a person has to die, treatment is not worth anything; when a person does not have to die, Ñandedjára himself carries the person through. When it is

761 /131 cont./
753 not the will of God, neither doctor nor curer can turn it
159 around." /132/ Highly illuminating words, as they make it
75 very clear that what predominates is not the magical attitude, but the religious one. In the treatment of the sick, the efficiency of the magical and medicinal resources is only conditional -- which divests magic of one of its essential characteristics, namely, natural causality. When the late doctor-sorcerer Arnaldo -- I was told -- saw that a sick child "had a cure," he gave it a remedy and it became healthy. But when he saw that nothing could be done, he said so at once; he ordered herb tea to be prepared, but he did not have any hope. Fiat voluntas tua /Thy will be done/.

756 It is seen, therefore, that the power of the doctor-sorcerer
761 is subject to considerable limitation, stemming from divine will. Were it not for this, he himself would not get sick and would not die. On the contrary, the Ñandéva says, his supernatural faculties can easily become his misfortune, because to be the bearer of extraordinary magical powers and knowledge is a dangerous state. If the doctor-sorcerer to whom the auxiliary spirit communicated the prayer or magico-medicinal song does not live in accordance with the prescriptions tied to them, he himself becomes the cause of his death. It happens that he dies only two or three months after the descent of the protector spirit, "because the religion of the Indians is very strong and also very fine," according to the words of João Samuel. This is why Arnaldo died. And, if I rightly understood the explanations of old Pedro Pires, there is even a transitory death of the doctor-sorcerer who is not yet capable of using his powers and his knowledge properly and of living according to the demands stemming from them. "The one who prays has to die when he
[821] errs." But he comes back to life again, which happens in a thunderstorm. -- Would that not be temporary death, a constant theme of the lunar mythology of the whole world, a death that in the tribal myths also often strikes the less clever one of the twins? However that may be, the possibility of the individual

/156 cont./

538 In the association of the Guaraní with the caiçaras, the folk-
179 lore takes on local color; they begin to talk a lot about "encanto"
181 /enchantment/, "poço de ouro" /gold mine/, and similar things. From the way in which these representations are referred to, however, one gets the impression that for them the cycle of hidden treasures is not linked preponderantly to any dream of riches, but tends to be reduced to ideas purely mythical, in the broad sense of the word; the economic mirage would be on the second plane.

787 In the same way a number of caboclo (and almost universal)
825 ideas about forboding are widespread among the Guaraní, ideas
[171] that, by the way, have their like or points of contact in the tribal tradition itself. At Bananal it is common to speak of beasts that "forbode evil" for /157/ people. When a poisonous snake -- par-
[753] ticularly a jararacussu or mbói-parádjú -- appears in the house,
[761] it was "sent" by someone in order "to forebode evil" for a person in the family; even without biting, it brings sickness and causes death. A certain cry of the cuckoo is foreboding. Also that of the hen that in the yard seems to imitate the crow of the cock (5).

[171] 5. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is a quite widespread belief. For example: Elsie Clews Parsons recorded it among the Otavalo Indians of Ecuador. "When a hen crows like a cock, a rare phenomenon, it is announcing the death of some member of the family" /quoted in English/ (Parsons, 1945, p. 213). -- "A hen that crows like a cock is a sign of misfortune in the house" (Brandão, 1949, p. 182).

And the rooster that, climbing on the roost, starts to crow at an untimely hour is for his part announcing misfortune or death for a member of the family. In town, commented my friend Bento, the cocks crow at all hours, but there, too, people die at all
825 hours. -- The cock that "divines" the future has even come into
787 Kayová mythology itself, as is seen from a text collected at
793 the post of Icatu (6).

6. /From p. 160 in the original source./ When

/38 cont./
son or a pregnant wife, he may not make the little seat, because it would be dangerous for the life of the baby or of the child to be born, and, besides, the seat would easily break because the restriction had not been observed. For this reason the man may ask, in the first place, the sister's son and, secondly, the brother's son, that he make the seat for him. In the year in which a man has a son who is being initiated, he needs a great quantity of maize. If, by chance, the father has had a bad crop or lacks maize, he will turn to his brother or to the wife's brother, asking him for help in providing the necessary quantity of the commodity.

Although this initiation of the boys has disappeared in a large number of Cayuá aldeias, it continues to have great importance in Taquapirí. A youth is not considered a man until he has his lip pierced. The Cayuá naturally know that this is not true in a biological sense, because a boy may still become pubescent before his lip is pierced. The boys who have never had the lip pierced later suffer from some ailment. This ailment ordinarily appears in the form of pains in the legs and arms. During the ceremony and for some six months afterwards the boys cannot eat beef and pork. If he fails to respect the taboo, the man will later be afflicted intermittently with giddiness, headaches, and states of debility. Many attacks of this nature might overtake him, but it is known that one of them is going to cause his death. Nowadays, however, some of the boys have a plant that they pulverize and eat together with beef and pork, countering in this manner the bad effects of the meat.

Marriage: Marriage constitutes perhaps the most important social event in the social life of the Cayuá. In the first /39/ place it establishes a new series of social relations for the individuals concerned and for their relatives, and, in the second place, the basis is formed for a new elementary family, and the elementary family is the fundamental economic unit of Cayuá society. It was in connection with marriage that we found one of the changes that has taken place in the last 20 or 30 years in the Cayuá kinship system. Previously it was the mothers, that of the young man and that of the young woman, who arranged the marriage,

/40/

The elementary family among the Cayuá is a self-sufficient unit with regard to the economy, suffering enormously with the loss of one of the persons participating in the economic activity, to the point of its ceasing to function in the case of loss of one of the members of the couple. Divorce is common, it sufficing for this that one of the spouses declare to the other that he is going to leave. In general they do not wait long to realize a new marriage. Marriage is considered a very natural and commendable thing, so that nowadays there are few young people who are not married.

Death: There are two principal types of sicknesses that can afflict the individual. The so-called "sicknesses of people" are thought to be cured by the use of the large number of remedies known by the Cayuá. But for the ailments caused by sorcery no means of cure are known. Although not a very common event, at times the death of some child occurs, which, nevertheless, seems to cause only a relatively small disturbance in the life of the close relatives. The death of an adult is followed by the mourning of the close relatives. It is customary to bury the body the day after the death. They dress it completely, sometimes even with two or more changes of clothing, because the case of a son or daughter who gives a dress to the mother or a pair of trousers and a shirt to the father, on the occasion of their death, is not rare. After the corpse has been placed in the hammock of the deceased, it is taken to the cemetery. The hammock is carried by two men at the same time, distant relatives and friends of the deceased, who take turns after intervals. The objects of personal use are buried with the body, except those of value, such as iron pots, which frequently pass into the hands of some close relative of the deceased. The mourning is great on the occasion of the funeral. All the women weep a great deal, and the men who are close relatives of the deceased also weep. After the body has been placed in the grave, the tomb is closed, a large gourd being put on top of it.

A shaman is a man who owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

The ancient *Guaraní* and even many modern groups assign disease to the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-Guaraní* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

Among ancient *Guaraní* great medicine men worked miracles by their chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones, kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also interfere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfortunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he